1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

cloudy with some snow. About seventy lodges of Assiniboines and some Knistenaux are at the Mandan village, and this being the day of adoption and exchange of property between them all, it is accompanied by a dance, which prevents our seeing more than two Indians today. These Knistenaux are a band of Chippeways whose language they speak. They live on the Assiniboine and Saskashawan rivers, and are about two hundred and forty men." (id 173)

Hostilities With Assiniboines and Knistenauxs. "Sunday, November 18. Today we had a cold windy morning. The Black Cat came to see us, and occupied us for a long time with questions on the usages of our country. He mentioned that a council had been held yesterday to deliberate on the state of their affairs. It seemed that not long ago, a party of Sioux fell in with some horses belonging to the Minnetarees, and carried them off; but in their flight they were met by some of the Assiniboines, who killed the Sioux and kept the horses. A Frenchman, too, who had lived many years among the Mandans, was lately killed on his route to the British factory on the Assiniboine. Some smaller differences existed between the two nations, all of which being discussed, the council decided that they would not resent the recent insults from the Assiniboines and Knistenaux, until they had seen whether we had deceived them or not in our promises of furnishing them with arms and ammunition. They had been disappointed in their hopes of receiving them from Mr. Evans, and were afraid that we too, like him, might tell them what was not true. We advised them to continue at peace, that supplies of every kind would no doubt arrive for them, but that time was necessary to organize the trade. The fact is, that the Assiniboines treat the Mandans as the Sioux do the Ricaras; by their vicinity to the British they get all the supplies, which they withhold or give at pleasure to the remoter Indians. The consequence is, that however badly treated, the Mandans and Ricaras are very slow to retaliate, lest they should lose their trade altogether." (id 175.)

Fort Mandan. "Tuesday, 20th. We this day moved into our huts, which are now completed. This place, which we call Ft. Mandan, is situated in a point of low ground, on the north side of the Missouri, covered with tall and heavy cottonwood. The works consist of two rows of huts or sheds, forming an angle

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

pecially important in Mandan social and ceremonial life, since individuals in the father's father's lineage usually occupy a closer relationship through marriage.

These lineages are the basis of the Mandan kinship structure; they extend kinship relations beyond the elementary family to the limits of the tribe; they regulate the behavior and social

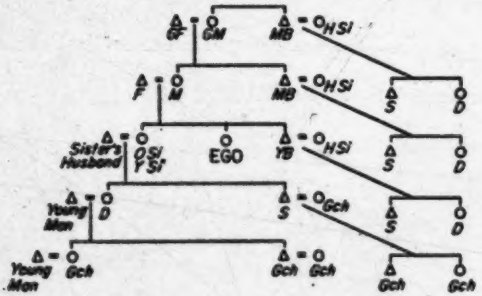

FIG. 11.—Mother's lineage. Ego = female

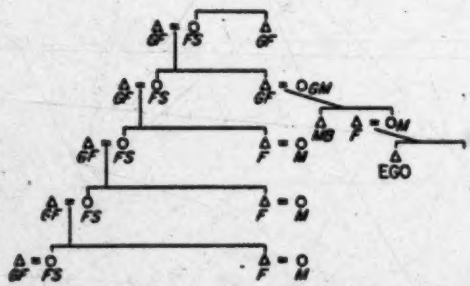

FIG. 12.—Mother's father's lineage. Ego = male

relations of the entire village. The extension of this lineage principle united the various villages into a tribal unit.

The Mandan had numerous methods of extending the range of kinship, and the character of the pattern resulting from this extension is important for an understanding of social integration. The Mandan treat everyone as a relative and recognize varying degrees of nearness of relationship. A person is considered to be related to everyone of his own clan and is a "son" to all males and females of his father's clan. Marriage introduces another set of relatives, and the custom of adopting a "son"

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

602 608 597 614 brings together still another set of relatives between whom there is frequently established a "father-son" bond extending to the "father-son" relatives which was often more intimate than with the "son's" own father who may be separated from the son's mother. This relationship to persons outside the biological family may be further altered by ceremonial participation. Adoption of a child from outside the clan, though uncommon, did occur, and the one adopted, by changing his or her clan status, [646] affected the relationship of both groups. When no other relationship was applicable, the moiety functioned as a clan. There was a further extension of the kinship to embrace the supernatural. Details of this classification appear in the chapters on ceremonialism contained in this report. The kinship pattern was also extended to include persons of neighboring tribes, even unfriendly tribes, when a friendship developed between individuals of different tribes; formal adoption established relationships that played an important role in restricting warfare and promoting trade. The numerous devices for extending kinship between the villages frequently brought about a situation in which a Mandan had a choice of two or more terms of relationship for the same person. The situation determined the term to be employed. Obviously those who are most closely associated in daily and ceremonial activities were considered closest in making a decision. When the writer was collecting the materials for this report, he was very anxious to use Tom Smith as interpreter for Scattercorn, since he was familiar with the specific problem being developed at that time. She refused to work with him on the grounds that she considered him a "son-in-law." The relationship between the two was this: Scattercorn's (Tamisik clan) sister's daughter's daughter married Edgar Crows Heart, who was Tom Smith's sister's son (Water-buster clan). She was, of course, Edgar Crows Heart's mother-in-law, but she extended the taboo to Tom Smith because he visited a great deal at Crows Heart's home. She did not consider Drags Wolf a son-in-law, although of Edgar Crows Heart's clan, because he rarely called at Crows Heart's lodge.

601 614 The importance of the clan in regard to the kinship has been brought out in the foregoing discussions, but this should not be interpreted to mean that the kinship system is a clan system.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

of the cattail plant in his hair. Those stabbed by a knife or spear could wear a stick carved to resemble a knife. One who had been shot in battle painted red spots on his shirts, leggings, or robes with red stripes below to indicate bullet holes and blood dripping from the wounds. Men painted horse tracks on their blankets to indicate the horses they had stolen. These tracks were bunched to indicate the number taken on each expedition.

Small children too young to remember their parents were frequently taken prisoners and adopted into the village. They were "struck" by the warriors who were given credit toward their war record but such records were not related during ceremonies once the children were adopted into the households. Girls approaching marriageable age were frequently returned alive to the village and sold to those needing an extra wife.

Women also qualified for war honors and were eligible to wear the same decorations as men. Informants remembered a number of women who had struck an enemy and had displayed their war honors during the Scalp Dance. One woman concealed herself at the entrance to her lodge and hit an Assiniboine on the head with a stone hammer. She scalped him and, during the dances, received a hearty applause whenever she was leader of the line of dancers, carrying her scalp on a stick.

The war records enumerated above constitute the principal awards having social recognition and fall into two general groups: awards limited solely to war leaders and consisting of scalps which were worn on their clothing or carried on scalp sticks and awards to warriors consisting of peculiar painting of the clothing, wearing of coyote tails, and certain feathers. Only those who had led many war parties and had been successful attained the highest ranks as chiefs unless their lack of significant successes in warfare was compensated with a record of many feasts during which time much property was given away or the possession of important tribal bundles. There was a series of designs painted or woven on robes which proclaimed the amount of goods so disposed of.

MARRIAGE AND THE HOUSEHOLD

Marriage was an exceedingly important event among the leading families of a Mandan village, but for the average family

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Chapter XVI

ADOPTION PIPE CEREMONY

THERE were many people, both men and women, owning rights in this ceremony. Although Crows Heart believed that the ceremony was bought from the Arikaras a long time ago, Maximilian[1] recognized two types of sacred pipes, one[2] of which had been in the tribe for a long time and which he could have seen for one hundred dollars. He describes in detail the adoption ceremony, which is in every sense identical to Crows Heart's account. The two pipes carried in the ceremony are one belonging to the seller and one the purchaser was to receive. This ceremony performed an important social and religious role. The Hidatsa and Mandan adoption were identical as to ritual and songs.

In reality it was the pipe stem that was sacred, since the red stone bowls could be removed for daily use, whereas the stems were kept in bundles and were not taken out, except preliminary to an Adoption Pipe ceremony. Crows Heart is probably correct in his statement that the ceremony was bought of the Arikara, since this is the only instance when red stone pipes were used for ceremonial purposes. Objection to red stone is based on the myth wherein Good Furred Robe, in early times, was unable to introduce redstone pipes because they were the color of human blood.[3]

Crows Heart, who had been adopted twice, supplied the information on the adoption ceremony.

CROWS HEART'S NARRATIVE OF THE ADOPTION CEREMONY[4]

The old Mandans told me that the sacred pipes were bought from the Arikara quite a long while ago. The stand represents the cornstalks; the horse

1. See Maximilian in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites (Cleveland, 1906), XXIII, 319–21.

2. This was known as the Corn Pipe and was in no way connected with the adoption ceremony.

3. See Okipa ceremony origin myth (chap. iv).

4. Lewis and Clark witnessed an adoption ceremony, but furnish few details (see *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804–1806*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites [New York, 1905], I, 222).

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

tail hairs represent the corn silks; the stem represents an ear of corn; the birds' heads are connected with the Old Woman who tends the crops. I heard that the red heads on the pipe are from a bird that lived a long ways below Fort Yates.[5] The Indians down there brought them up here and traded them for horses and corn.

If I want to adopt, I go to a young man who is son of a man who belongs to my clan, which is the Prairie Chicken clan. We never adopt a person who has no horses but select a man who has the finest buffalo horses. If I want to get his horses, I go out and kill a deer or possibly a buffalo, and my wife prepares a feast. Then I invite him to come with his family and visit us. My wife cleans the earth lodge up and puts down a good robe for him to sit on. When he gets through eating, and they cannot eat it all, his wife takes what is left over from the meal and goes home. Then we sit together and smoke, and I say to him, "I want to adopt you as a son, and I want to fix up my medicine pipe for you." He will always accept. If he refused, others would hear about it and say bad things about him.

When he agrees, I inquire, "How many of you will be in the family?" He will include the wife, the children, and may even include his small brothers and sisters, until there are probably six of them in all. When all is agreed upon, I tell him that I will give him the pipe many days, usually about a month, later. In the meanwhile I look around for presents and usually get together some good moccasins and leggings for the man, his wife, and their children. Sometimes we have elks' teeth, and we decorate a dress for his wife. If one is not able to get all the things he needs, he goes to his brothers and sisters for help.

Four days before I am to give the pipe, I invite all the old men who have these medicine pipes to come to my lodge, and we work together repairing a pipe stem. There is a song that goes with the pipes, and we sing that and burn sweet grass before we open the bundle that contains the stem. Eagle tail feathers of the young eagle [black tips] are then put on the stem, and a red pipe is fitted onto it. The pipe is repaired each time a man is adopted.

On the day that the adoption is to take place, all the men having medicine pipes go to the lodge of the man who is adopting the son and dress up in the fine clothes that are to go to the young man. Then all the men go out onto the prairie and make a hole in the ground representing a duck's nest. These men form a circle around the nest, holding their own medicine pipes and singing the songs that go with the pipes. By the time the men return to the village, the young man will be ready with his horses tied to the lodge, one horse for each person going into the adoption ceremonies with him. The pipe medicine people, coming in from the prairie, go directly to the young man's lodge, singing and beating drums all the while. The man doing the adopting goes ahead, carrying the pipe.

When they reach the door of the young man's lodge, all stop singing. One of the men who killed an enemy and destroyed his tepee or had other good luck in war counts his coups; how he charged a tepee, killed all, took the blankets, or whatever his record is. This man goes in first, and all the others follow. They sing and walk around the fireplace once while the man doing the adopting goes to the young man and asks him to stand up and go with him. Other Medicine Pipe men each take a boy or girl of the young man's family

5. See Maximilian, *op. cit.*, pp. 319–21.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

and all go to the place where the dance is to be held. They sing the medicine song as they go. 796

The lodge selected for the dance is the large Okipa lodge, which can be prepared easily for the occasion. There will be at least twelve singers with drums and two dancers, one with a pipe and the other with a rattle. Nearly all the people in the village will come in for at least a few minutes, for everyone is curious to see the clothes the old man will give the young man, and the buffalo horses that he will receive. People must give good clothing and horses, or these people will speak unkindly of them. When the dance is over, the boy's clan and society come in to help him out and bring with them shirts, blankets, and leggings which are piled up before the young man. 597

It is then announced that the person adopted is going to be bathed and dressed by the head of the medicine pipe people. The young man is led to the center of the room, and four bunches of rushes are brought in and placed before him in the form of a square. A dish made of rushes is brought in filled with water, and one of the Medicine Pipe men steps up, counts his coups, and punches a hole through it so that the water runs onto the young man's body. A wildcat's hide is used to dry his body. None of the others in his family are bathed.

Then the young man returns to his seat, and men with blankets held out hide those who are being adopted while they are fitted out in the new clothes. Each is painted with red paint over the mouth, one streak over the nose, and two streaks over the eyes. A fine black-tipped eagle feather is put in the hair of each person adopted; then all are paraded around so that each person there can see them.

Then the horses are led into the lodge. There will be as many horses given as there are people in the family being adopted. The pile of goods brought in by the young man's friends and clan brothers is given out to the men of the Medicine Pipe Society as their pay for helping in the ceremony. When all the things have been passed out, the dancing continues for a while. [431]

After a while the young man says to the adopted father, "Father, come over to my house and rub off my paint."

All the Medicine Pipe men go to the young man's lodge, where there is a feast. The young man is then given the pipe, and his wife is given one ear of yellow corn. The head man of the Medicine Pipe Society makes a motion as though to wash the young man, after which the young man rubs the paint off.

The old man says, "Son, I have given you my pipe. You can adopt four times. After that you can't adopt any more."

We respect these pipes highly, take them with us to war, and pray to them often at such times. We call them medicine pipes because of the powers they have. All the people who have such pipes belong to a society and meet at times to open their bundles and smoke the pipes. We never use them for everyday smoking. 778 597

A man sometimes adopts a daughter, and she, in turn, can adopt a young man and give him a pipe, or she may adopt another woman, whichever she wishes to do. Only the men go out on the prairies to build the nest and sing the Medicine Pipe songs, however. 597

[p. 332 is blank]

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Among a number of other customs, was treaty making with other tribes. This was well described by Henry who accompanied the Mandans and Hidatsa when they went to make a treaty with the Cheyennes. Most of the people went on these treaty visits; the band marched in a procession of fixed order and a number of ceremonial objects were carried exposed throughout the march. The party was met with great ceremony by the new allies and its members were taken into their houses. Several days of ceremonial feasting occurred and finally the head chief of each party adopted a son from the other tribe. After this there was more feasting and several days of trade between the two bands, when both returned home.

The adoption of sons occurred also among the different families. Maximilian describes the adoption of a "medicine son" to whom a sacred pipe was given. The man chose his adopted son through a dream. The new pipe was consecrated and gifts were showered upon the son's family by the adopted father and his relatives. A dance and feast was then held. This custom was prevalent over all the Missouri region.

There were a number of men who dressed and acted like women and were treated in every way as such. These men claimed to follow this life by an order from the spirits given to them in a dream.

Catlin says that the Mandans did not have slaves and there is no mention of them elsewhere. The Arikara, however, had a regular slavery system, and the Crows made slaves and sold them on the Missouri. The Mandans were very good at the sign language so Maximilian tells us. They were expert swimmers, and collected their whole supply of wood by swimming out and towing in the drift wood at the time of the spring breakups.

In point of general culture the Mandans were superior to any of their immediate neighbors, surpassing even the other sedentary people, the Hidatsa and Arikara. Catlin says that they had advanced far in the arts of manufacture and had more comforts and luxuries than other tribes. When Verendrye saw them he, too, was struck by their superior skill. He said that the Mandans dressed leather and worked in feathers better

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

at least they endeavoured to obtain the portrait of the painter as an antidote. One of their chiefs never smoked out of a stone pipe, but always used a wooden one. Mato-Topé never partook of other people's tobacco, but always smoked by himself, with the doors shut. They do not willingly show their medicines or amulets, which are usually kept wrapped up in a bundle or bag, and never opened except on important occasions. They have particular medicine pipes, or, as the English call them, medicine stems, which are uncovered and used for smoking only on solemn occasions. Many make such pipes according to their own taste; such, for instance, was the pipe of Dipauch (Plate XXI. fig. 3). The bowl was nearly in the form of a Turkish pipe, and was made of brownish-red clay; the tube, which was rather short and thick, represented the lord of life in human form, but which it required some stretch of the imagination to discover. The nation preserves a celebrated pipe of this kind as a sacred relic, which no stranger is permitted to see. It has been in their possession since remote ages, and they offered to show it to me for the value of 100 dollars. The Indians cannot obtain such pipes but at a considerable expense: many of the necessary ornaments are not to be procured among them, such as the upper bill and the red crown of a species of woodpecker (*Picus pileatus*, Linn.), a bird which is not found so high up the Missouri. For the head of one of these woodpeckers, which was brought from St. Louis, they gave a large handsome buffalo robe, worth six or eight dollars. If a man possesses such a pipe, he sometimes conceives the idea of adopting a medicine son. The young man whom he is to choose appears to him in a dream; it is, however, requisite that he should be of a good family, or have performed some exploit. He acquaints him with his intention, and, after having provided two similar medicine pipes, he asks his newly-adopted son, whether he is ready to undergo the ceremony of the pipes? The latter frequently answers in the affirmative, and the time for the ceremony is fixed: but, if he has not yet made up his mind, it is deferred. The adoptive father then chooses two young men, who practise the medicine dance together, with the two pipes in their hands. The father often dances, in the morning, on the roof of his hut, and instructs these two young men. When the time arrives, and the adopted son is ready for the ceremony, the father, with all his relations, and the two young dancers, repairs to the hut of his newly-chosen son, and brings him a present of maize, cloth, blankets, kettles, and other valuable articles. The father takes his son by the hand and makes him sit down, after which the company dance round him, with the two pipes; they sing, accompanied by the drum and schischikué, the two young dancers keeping time to the music with their pipes. When the ceremony is over, and the presents laid in one or two heaps, the relations of the medicine son bring horses, cloth, blankets, and other things of value, which the two parties reciprocally divide between them. The father then again takes his son by the hand, makes him rise from his seat, and dresses him in new clothes from head to foot, and likewise paints his face according to his fancy. The dress and pipe are henceforth his property, and he is considered as a real son, who must support and defend his father.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

This custom exists among most of the nations on the Missouri, and even among the Esquimaux there is a somewhat similar usage. If the adopted son and father have not happened to meet for a long time, they make presents to each other; the father gives the son a new dress, and the latter presents him with a good horse. Among all the Indian nations of North America, there is a particular class of men, who are specially engaged in all the above-mentioned ceremonies and medicines. They are, also, the physicians, and are called, among the Mandans, Numak-Choppenih, which signifies medicine man.

The skin of a white buffalo cow is an important article, and an eminent medicine in the opinion of the Mandans and Manitaries. He who has never possessed one of them is not respected. Suppose two men to be disputing about their exploits, the one an old veteran warrior, who has slain many enemies, the other, a young lad without experience; the latter reproaches the other with never having possessed a white buffalo cow hide, on which the old man droops his head, and covers his face for shame. He who possesses such a hide generally offers it to the lord of life, to whom he dedicates it, or, which is equivalent, to the sun, or to the first man. He collects, perhaps, in the course of a whole twelvemonth, various articles of value, and then hangs them up all together on a high pole in the open prairie, generally in the neighbourhood of the burying-place, or in the village before his hut. Distinguished men and chiefs of eminence are for the most part poor, because, in order to gain reputation and influence, they give away everything of value which they possess. A large number of relatives is one of the chief means of acquiring riches, for a young man who wishes to distinguish himself, and to be liberal, does honour to the whole family, who assist him to the utmost of their power. When one of his relations has anything of value, the young man goes to the owner to demand it, and not unfrequently takes it away without ceremony. Sometimes he hangs his head in silence, and then something of value is given him, a handsome dress, a horse, &c. If he wishes to gain reputation and a claim to distinction, it is necessary that he should make presents. All the people in the village notice very accurately what presents are made, and the donor has a right to display all such presents painted on his robes, and in this manner to hand down his reputation to posterity, as has been already related. This and military glory are, in the eyes of these men, the greatest virtues. They dare not draw a stroke too much on their robes for the horses, guns, &c., which they have given away, for the young men keep a most strict account against each other, and universal ridicule would be the immediate consequence of violating this rule. Among the distinctions of any man, the white buffalo hide is the greatest. He who has not been so fortunate as to kill a white buffalo himself, which is generally the case, as these animals are very rare, purchases a hide, often at a great distance from home, and other nations bring them hither, being well aware of the great value attached to them by the Mandans. The hide must be that of a young cow, not above two years old, and be taken off complete and tanned, with the horns,

10: Neill #4(no date) 1884 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

chief called Le Grand* who insisted upon our taking lodgings in his hut, which stood near the edge of the banks. We accordingly entered it, but soon after we were visited by several other principal men, who requested some of us to take up our abode in their huts during our stay among them. La France advised us to do so, telling us we would be more at our ease by separating than if we remained all in the same hut. Accordingly Mr. Chaboillez and his people, consisting of an Indian who was his brother-in-law, and Mr. Allen McDonnell, took up their lodgings with Hairy Horn, and our guide, Hugh McReacan, (Cracken) Straight Horn, myself and my people, T. Viandrie and Joseph Du Charme, remained with Le Grand, a very civil fellow. This arrangement having been settled and instantly put into execution, we were provided with beds, or buffalo hides to sit upon. * * * * * * We paid a visit to Le Gros Blanc, who thought we had somewhat slighted him in not taking up our residence in his hut, but kept the flag flying in honor of our arrival until sunset. We made amends as far as our circumstances would permit, and presented him with some tobacco, ammunition, etc., as a remuneration for his trouble in assisting us over. He was perfectly satisfied, and appeared highly pleased with the presents.

We found in this village a Canadian by the name of Jussaume,† who accompanied Captains Lewis and Clarke to Washington on their return from their voyage of discoveries to the Pacific Ocean as interpreter to the Mandan chief, Le Gros Blanc. This man has been a resident among the Indians for upwards of fifteen years. He speaks their language tolerably well, has a wife and family who live and dress in the same manner as the natives. As for himself, he still retains the outward appearance of a Christian, and his principles as far as I could observe, are much worse than those of a Mandane. He is possessed of every superstition natural to these people, nor is he different in performing every mean, dirty trick which they have acquired from their intercourse with a set of worthless scoundrels accustomed to visit these parts, some for the purpose of trade, and others, to save themselves from justice and the laws of their country, that would not fail to punish them for their numerous offenses."

EDWARD D. NEILL.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

*Le Gros Blanc, or Big White, called by the Indians Shahaka was the first chief of this village and was recognized by Lewis and Clark and presented with a medal. Ohheenaw, Le Grant, or Big Man was much esteemed in the tribe. He was a Cheyenne taken prisoner, and then adopted by the Mandans.

†In the narrative of Lewis and Clarke his name is spelled Jesseaume, and on the 27th of October, 1805, was engaged as interpreter, and with the expedition went to the Pacific Ocean, accompanied by his Indian wife and babe. On the 16th of August, 1806, soon after Henry's departure, Lewis and Clarke returned to the Mandan village, and Le Gros Black, Big White, with his wife and son and Jessaume, the next day accompanied the military expedition to St. Louis, and from thence they went to Washington and were presented to President Jefferson.

[Catagory 116, p. 332.-A.]